

KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

SELECTED WORKS
IN TWO VOLUMES

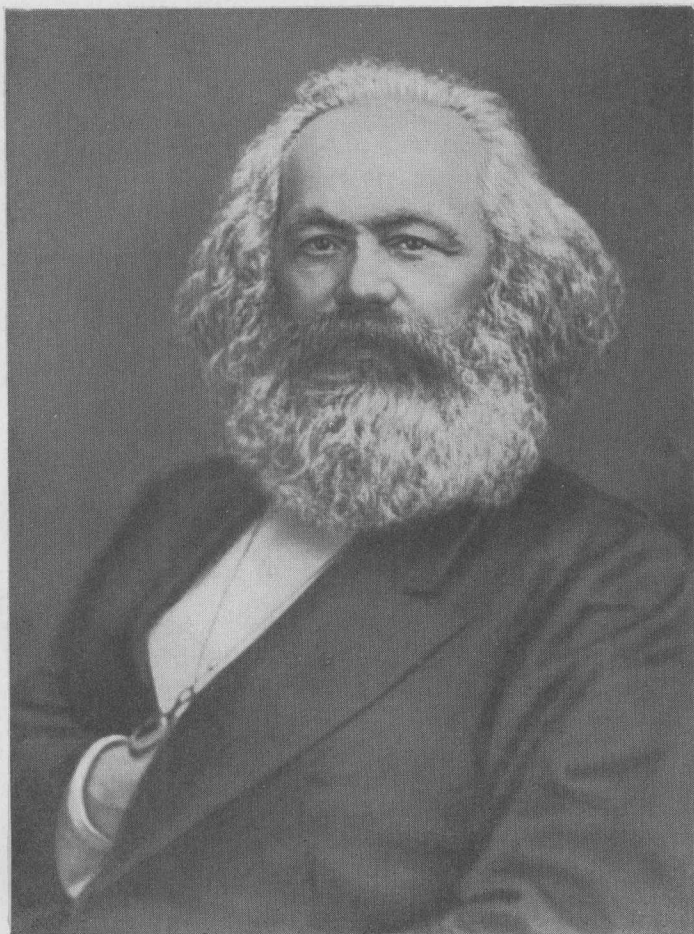
VOLUME I



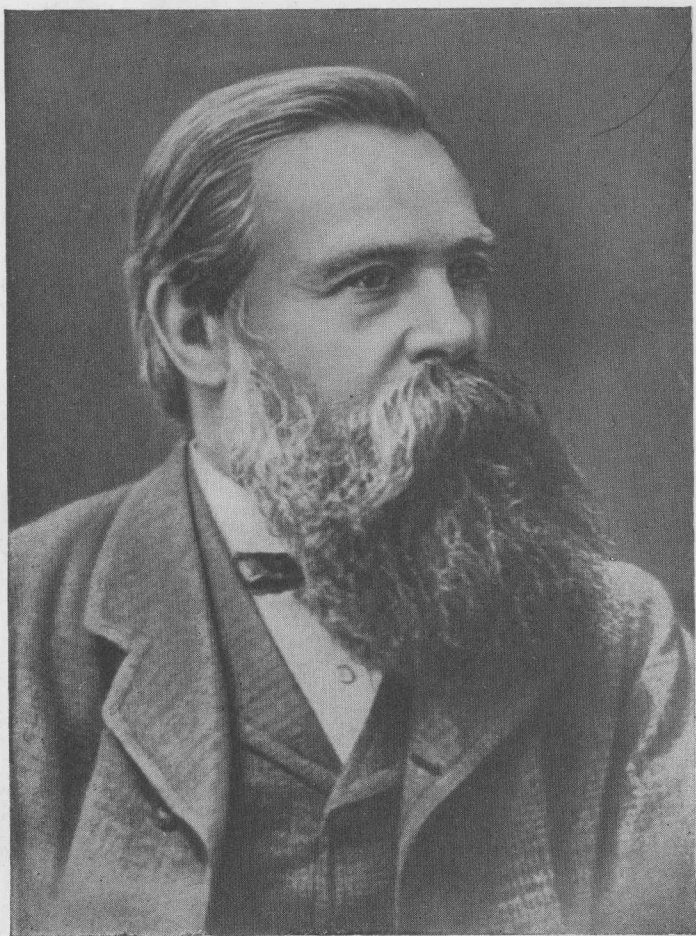
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Karl Marx



F. Engels

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KARL MARX
AND
FREDERICK ENGELS
SELECTED WORKS
VOLUME I

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN EDITION

The present anthology includes the most important works of Marx and Engels, which elucidate all the three component parts of Marxism: philosophy, political economy and Socialism. Marx and Engels critically remoulded all the finest achievements of human thought in the fields of philosophy, political economy and Socialism, generalized the age-old experience of the struggle of the oppressed classes against their enslavers and created the doctrine of scientific Socialism. This was a revolutionary upheaval; it ushered in a new era in the development of social thought.

Unlike all other philosophical and political systems Marxism expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and of all toiling humanity. Marxism is not a doctrine held by isolated individuals or by founders of sects but is a teaching addressed to the proletariat and destined to serve as its compass in its revolutionary struggle. Marxism is the banner, the creed, of the working class, to which it revealed its historic mission, the emancipation of mankind from all oppression and exploitation, and showed the way to the building of communist society. Herein lies the strength of Marxism; this renders it invincible. "Marx and Engels are not simply the founders of some philosophical 'school' or other—they are the living leaders of the living proletarian movement, which is growing and gaining strength every day." (J. Stalin.)

Marxism hewed its way by dint of relentless struggle against reactionary idealist philosophy, against bourgeois political economy, against sectarian and petty-bourgeois Socialism.

In the famous program document, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, with which the present two-volume edition begins, Marx and Engels gave a classical exposition of the basic ideas of scientific Socialism. "With the clarity and brilliance of genius," Lenin noted, "this work outlines the new world conception, consistent material-

ism, which also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of the new, communist society.” The *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the “Song of Songs of Marxism,” as Comrade Stalin called it, has supplied the millions of proletarians in all countries with the theoretical weapon needed to combat capitalist slavery. It has revealed to them the future and has mapped out for them a militant program of action.

The *Selected Works* contain three books by Marx on nineteenth-century French history: *The Class Struggles in France*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *The Civil War in France*—splendid illustrations of the application of the method of historical materialism to the analysis of concrete events of history. At the same time they are of great theoretical importance: they reflect the development of the Marxist doctrine of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. True leader of the proletarian movement that he was, Marx himself learned from the masses, these makers of history, and enriched revolutionary theory with the lessons derived from their struggle. The valuable experience of the revolution of 1848-49 lent impetus to the development and concretization of Marx's views on the state. Whereas in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* we are still given but a general formulation of the inevitability of the conquest of political power by the proletariat, in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Marx, generalizing the experience of the struggle of classes in France in 1848-51, arrived at the conclusion that in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat one must first of all smash the old military-bureaucratic machine, the apparatus of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Subsequently, the heroic exploit of the Paris Communards, who were “storming heaven,” led Marx to take a new and extremely important step in the development of his doctrine. In analyzing, in his work, *The Civil War in France*, the attempt of the popular masses to set up in Paris their own, a workers' government, Marx drew the conclusion that precisely a political organization of the type of the Paris Commune, and not a parliamentary republic, was the most expedient form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Finally, in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, an outstanding document directed against the opportunists, who were endeavouring to distort the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, Marx pointed out the necessity and historic inevitability of a “political transition period” during which the state must necessarily be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. It is in this work of invaluable theoretical and practical importance that Marx for the first time formulated his well-known proposition that Socialism and Communism

are two phases of development of the new, communist system of society.

There is an indestructible inner unity between proletarian Socialism and dialectical materialism, the world outlook of the revolutionary proletariat: "Marxism," wrote Comrade Stalin, "is not only a theory of Socialism; it is an integral world outlook, a philosophical system, from which Marx's proletarian Socialism logically follows."

In the *Thesis on Feuerbach*, which Engels designated as "the first document in which is deposited the brilliant germ of the new world outlook," Marx proclaimed as early as 1845 that an inseverable bond united philosophy and social practice. "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it," said Marx. Only dialectical materialism, the sole truly scientific world outlook, can be the philosophy of the proletariat, the revolutionary class destined to transform the world. In disclosing the class character of the struggle between idealism and materialism Marx and Engels upheld the principle of partisanship in philosophy. "Marx and Engels," wrote Lenin, "were partisans in philosophy from start to finish; they were able to detect the deviations from materialism and concessions to idealism and fideism in each and every 'new' tendency."

In his preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* Marx formulated in the words of a genius the essence of historical materialism, that is, the application of the propositions of dialectical materialism to social life.

Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* is numbered among the classics that expound Marxism as an integral world outlook. This work consists of three chapters from *Anti-Dühring*, which were rewritten by Engels for the express purpose of giving the workers a popular explanation of the Marxian teaching. Engels briefly described the three component parts of Marxism and showed that all the world's achievements in the field of culture were refashioned by the critical mind of Marx, and that Marx created a new world outlook which differed qualitatively from all previous social teachings.

Ludwig Feuerbach, also by Engels, is a militant defence and substantiation of the materialist world outlook. Here Engels classically formulated the basic question of philosophy—the relation of thinking to being, of spirit to nature, the question which divides philosophers into two camps, idealists and materialists. In his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and *Ludwig Feuerbach* Engels laid special stress upon the opposition of the materialist dialectics of Marx to the idealist dialectics of Hegel and reveals the defects and limitations of the metaphysical materialism of Feuerbach.

Great theoretical importance attaches to the separate letters, contained in this edition, of Marx and Engels on questions of historical materialism. In his letters to Annenkov and Weydemeyer Marx briefly formulated the new matter that he had contributed to the theory of social development and the class struggle. Engels in his letters to Conrad Schmidt, Joseph Bloch, Franz Mehring and Heinz Starkenburg sharply criticized the vulgarization of the materialist conception of history and the underestimation of the ideological factor in the development of society and the struggle of classes. In his work entitled *Briefly About the Disagreements in the Party*, Comrade Stalin showed the vast practical importance of these theoretical utterances by Engels to the Party, to the struggle against the craft trade union theory of spontaneity. "The great importance of ideas had to be proved. And so Engels came forward and, in his letters (1891-94), emphasized that while it is true that ideas do not drop from the skies but are engendered by life itself, yet once born, they acquire great importance: they unite men, organize them, and leave their impress upon the social life which engendered them—ideas are of great importance in the progress of history." (*J. Stalin.*)

Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* is an excellent example of the masterly application of the theory of historical materialism to the history of social development. Here the author discloses the sources of the origin of the family, the gens, private property, classes and the state, shows the regularity of their development and their dependence upon the material mode of production, and explains why certain social forms are inevitably superseded by others. Lenin ranked this book by Engels among the principal works of modern Socialism.

"The most profound, comprehensive and detailed confirmation and application of Marx's theory is his economic doctrine." (*V. I. Lenin.*) *Capital*, Marx's immortal masterpiece, contains a classic analysis of the economic law of motion of capitalist society, an investigation of this society and of its rise, development and decline. Included in the present edition is Section 7 of the famous Chapter XXIV,¹ Volume I, with which section this chapter concludes. In this section Marx reveals the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation, the inevitable intensification of the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie, the inevitability of the proletarian revolution and of the "expropriation of the expropriators." Engels' review of the first volume of *Capital* not only acquaints the reader at large with its contents, but also shows the world-historic sig-

¹ This corresponds to Chapter XXXII of Volume I, Eng. ed. (London 1938 or New York 1939).—*Ed.*

nificance of the struggle of the working class and expounds the doctrine of surplus value, "the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory." (V. I. Lenin.)

The present collection further contains two works which Marx intended for the mass of the workers. The first of these, *Wage Labour and Capital*, is based on lectures delivered by the author in 1847 at the German Workers' Society in Brussels. The second, *Wages, Price and Profit*, is an address delivered by Marx at two sittings of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association in 1865. In these works Marx makes a profound theoretical analysis, couched in popular language, of the economic relations upon which bourgeois class rule rests, explains the origin and substance of surplus value and helps the reader draw the revolutionary conclusion that the working class must fight for the abolition of wage slavery.

One of the principal works of scientific Socialism is Engels' *The Housing Question*. It contains a criticism of the Proudhonist projects for the solution of this problem, and this criticism Engels converts into an indictment of the entire capitalist system. In contradistinction to the Proudhonist and other social reformers Engels emphatically denies that the housing question can find a solution under capitalism. He advances here the important theoretical question of abolishing the antithesis between town and country and points out that this will be possible only under the conditions of communist society.

The founders of scientific Socialism were the first organizers and leaders of the international proletariat. From the very outset the elaboration of the theory of Marxism unfailingly went hand in hand with the struggle waged by Marx and Engels to establish a proletarian party. As is known, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written to serve as the program of the Communist League founded by them, the first international communist organization of the proletariat. In "On the History of the Communist League," an article by Engels, the activities of this organization are briefly outlined. Marx's activities during the Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany are illuminated in another article written by Engels, "Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*." The celebrated *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League* sums up the revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 and formulates the theses of uninterrupted revolution, which Lenin in the epoch of imperialism developed into the theory of the growth of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

When a new upsurge of the working-class movement gave birth to the International Working Men's Association (1864-72), Marx assumed the leadership of this organization and wrote for it the